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ABSTRACT

All speakers alter language stylistically in response to particular social circumstances at the moment of speech. Additionally, bilingual speakers switch codes. In fact, language differentiation and code switching are fundamental to behaving bilingually. This article examines how language differentiation and code switching developed in a young child exposed to two languages. It is concluded that linguistic separation is triggered by various factors in the social environment that cue the speaker. In the young child, awareness of the factors that call for one language or another develops gradually over time as the child's social world expands. Moreover, these factors emerge in order of significance as perceived by the child. The development of bilingual behavior is clearly a sociolinguistic phenomenon in which the child learns not only two linguistic systems but also the circumstances in which to use each. A 10-item bibliography is included. (Author/MSE)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUAL BEHAVIOR: LANGUAGE CHOICE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

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All speakers alter language stylistically in response to particular social circumstances at the moment of speech. Bilingual speakers additionally switch codes. Language differentiation and code switching in fact are fundamental to behaving bilingually. This article examines how language differentiation and code switching developed in the young child exposed to two languages. Linguistic separation is triggered by various factors in the social environment which cue the speaker. In the young child, awareness of the factors which call for one language or another develops gradually over time as the child's social world expands. Moreover, these factors emerge in order of significance as perceived by the child. The development of bilingual behavior is clearly a socio-linguistic phenomenon in which the child learns not only two linguistic systems, but also the circumstances in which to use each.

Speakers alter language in various ways in relation to the particular social circumstances at the moment of speech. Such alterations are fairly consistent and allow us to posit, therefore, the existence of speech styles or registers. Bilingual speakers have an additional option - that of switching codes in addition to shifting styles within each code. Bilingual speakers can switch from one language to another in addition to modifying styles in the same manner as monolingual speakers switch language styles.

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Just as styles in language are sensitive responses to varying factors in the social context, so too is code switching. Language choice in the speech of bilinguals is not arbitrary nor erratic behavior, but directly related to identifiable social factors. Most sociolinguistic research examining this interrelationship, however, has focused on adult speakers. We know less about how such linguistic and social competence develops over time within the bilingual speaker.

This paper therefore, investigates three aspects of developing bilingualism: 1) code switching as integral to all bilingual behavior, with emphasis on its early acquisition; 2) identification of social factors which influence the child's ability to differentiate languages and to make appropriate choices; and 3) hierarchical organization of social factors, based on their order or emergence and relative impact in affecting language choice. These issues are discussed in light of data compiled during a longitudinal study conducted over a ten year period of two children-Mario and

Carla-raised bilingually in Spanish and English.

Bilingual Behavior is Code Switching Behavior

From the many attempts to examine bilingualism, including an extensive work by Baetens-Beardsmore (1982), one principle stands out: A minimal condition for bilingual behavior is the ability to code switch, that is, to be able to distinguish and use one linguistic set apart from another, at different moments in time, and as appropriate to the circumstance. In other words, the speaker must be able to operate within monolingual constraints at times, even though there may be long interludes of language mixing. Dual language inputs into the child's repertoire does not of itself constitute bilingualism, until the child becomes aware that they are differentiated sets. The AB language user (as opposed to the A-B user), who never separates language A from language B in a differentiated manner - at the appropriate moment as defined by the context - theoretically is not a functioning bilingual. To underscore this point, it is noted that bilingual "profiles" in common use, always include language alternation among the various criteria for consideration.

Aspects of a Bilingual Profile

A list of aspect that influence language choice must include the following:

- number of languages used
- types of languages used (i.e., their linguistic relation)
- function (i.e., the conditions of learning and language use)
- degree of proficiency in each language and in the various skill areas (comprehension, speaking, reading, writing)
- alternation (i.e., patterns and degree of code switching)
- interaction (i.e., the ways the languages affect each other interference and transference)

Bilingualism as a phenomenon, then, presumes, an ability to switch codes; conversely, code switching presumes the existence of at least two (but possibly more) languages. A second condition implicit in bilingual ability is awareness of the social conditions which determine the selection of one or the other code, and therefore requires speakers to make choices. Most children simultaneously exposed to two languages from birth demonstrate

these abilities early on. For example, Mario - one of the children examined in this study - displayed active use of Spanish at 1;4, and English at 2;6. From the onset of the second tongue, he faced the challenge of sorting linguistic sets. In each situation - as with all children exposed to two or more languages - he was required to make the right language choice - given the persons, the time and place of the speech event. Although this seems an inordinate task for very young children, mixing of codes - in this case, Spanish and English, limited as they were at this stage of development - occurred for only a very brief period of time.

The Development of Code Switching Patterns

Signs of switching were observed within a few days after the child's first utterances in English which occurred while visiting grandparents and other relatives. During that visit Mario acquired many new lexical items and almost immediately began to sort them into sets - one for use with parents, the other for use with relatives. The circumstances were clearly delineated - of the ten to twelve people with whom the child interacted, some used one lexical variant, others used another. In this early incident, appropriate code choice was sensitive primarily to the interlocutor.

During the next two months the child's world was essentially the home and nursery. At home, Spanish was the medium; at the nursery, it was English. Again situations for language use were clear, marked this time by place (or setting) in addition to interlocutors. During this time of rapid language development, some mixing of codes occurred. However, transfer occurred primarily in only one direction - from English to Spanish. At home, Mario showed an inclination to draw on words and expressions learned at the nursery; on the other hand he displayed no similar inclination to use Spanish at the nursery. Utterances the child carried into the home were primarily commands, salutations, demonstratives, and various expressive interjections common to children his age, such as "unhuh, yuk", and "ouch". In each setting, nonetheless, an element of choice was present.

During this time of limited language expression, Mario apparently utilized linguistic resources available to him from both codes, knowing his parents understood both (language transference). However, when the situation demanded it, as at the nursery, he also showed he was capable of constraining himself to only one language without borrowing (avoiding interference). An incident at a shopping mall at age 2;9 confirmed his ability to differentiate codes and to make appropriate choices. While shopping, he

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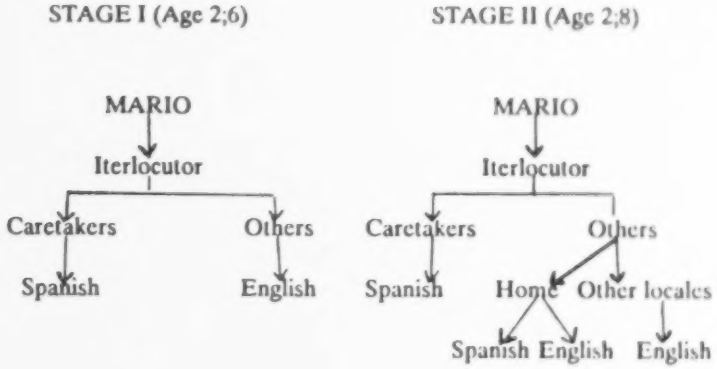
met a little girl with whom he used only English, despite his still limited proficiency and the fact that he was far more conversant in Spanish. The incident is also significant because it involved potential variables (interlocutors and setting) affecting language choice, in contrast with the visit to relatives cited above, where the setting was constant and the interlocutor was the single variable affecting choice. This development may be pictured as follows:



The child's increasing awareness of setting as a new variable affecting language choice is reflected in Stage II. Public settings almost uniformly called for the use of English, whereas the home continued to permit a choice, especially when the interlocutor was not the child's caretakers. Beyond 3;0, Mario exhibited clear and consistent separation of codes, and interlocutor and setting figured as the primary determinants in their selection.

As the child's world expanded, including his interaction with other individuals under still different circumstances, additional factors complicated the child's selection beyond those developments of Stage II. Sociolinguistic studies have identified some common variables which affect code switching in adults, viz: participants or interlocutors, setting, topic of discourse, the form of communication, and the function or norm of the interaction (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). But by 5;0, factors affecting the choice of both children under study were still relatively few. Interlocutor and setting were clearly early determinants; however, many attributes of the interlocutors (e.g., factors such as age, sex and occupation) were not significant to the child for these to become determinants as yet. Two aspects of interlocutors, however, were: physical characteristics and the degree of language proficiency exhibited by the other speaker. By age ten, all of the variables cited above (and common for adults) prevailed, with one notable exception: topic. This variable, usually cited as one influencing code switching in adult bilinguals still had no visible effects on the children's language selection until nearly the tenth year. As Mario and Carla's language developed along with their knowledge about increasingly specialized areas of conversation (greatly influenced through education solely in English), topical switches became more common. In fact, it became increasingly artificial, for example, to discuss naturally in Spanish a topic such as the Industrial Revolution in England and France since this was not the language through which the issue had been introduced. And parental efforts to constrain the children to review schoolwork about the Industrial Revolution in their home language produced extraordinary amounts of interference and considerable frustration.

Social Determinants and Language Choice

A review of speech acts in the children's diaries reveals the following variables affecting language choice as significant during the first ten years: participant, setting, function, the form of the act itself and topic. It is probable that this emergent order reflects their degree of importance to the children. Moreover, each variable, became increasingly complex (with sub-variables) as additional aspects became relevant to the children. The

following list describes the sub-variables in each major variable.

1. The participant(s) (i.e., other persons engaged in the speech event):

   a) whether known to the child or not;
   b) whether the interlocutor "looked" Spanish-speaking or not (as perceived by the child);
   c) whether an intimate or non-intimate associate of the child;
   d) the degree of comprehension and fluency with which the person used the code;
   e) his or her role, in relation to the child (e.g., caretaker, babysitter, nursery attendant);
   f) the languages known and used by the participants (i.e., whether an English or Spanish monolingual or a Spanish-English bilingual);
   g) the verbal behavior of the interlocutor (whether he or she maintained use of one code or exhibited mixing or switching behavior);
   h) the accent and nativeness or non-nativeness of the speaker; and
   i) audience (i.e., other persons present).

2. The setting:

   a) whether the event took place in a predominantly Spanish speaking locale (e.g., Bolivia, Mexico), or not;
   b) if an English-speaking setting, whether the event occurred in the home or in a public location; and
   c) whether the gathering was of obvious Spanish-speakers (regardless of locale).

3. Function (i.e., the purpose and/or intended outcome of the event):

   a) whether the purpose of the speech act was "normal" communication and exchange of information (i.e., unmarked verbal behavior); or

b) to shock, amuse, or surprise the participants; or
c) to underscore, replicate, or emphasize a previous statement;
d) a translation or explanation of a previous comment (meta-linguistic); or
e) self-expression or private speech (the child to self); or
f) to exclude or include others; or
g) to convey insistence, severity, or a command.

4. Form (i.e., the message couched in a special form as distinct from that used in normal conversation), such as:

a) play;
b) quoting, or citing a quotation;
c) roleplay;
d) storytelling;
e) songs;
f) jokes.

5. Topic (i.e., the content or subject of the conversation), such as:

a) experiences had primarily through a particular language; and
b) often technical or specialized areas of discussion.

Arranged hierarchically (in terms of order of appearance and significance), the interlocutor or other participants in the speech event consistently emerged as a primary determinant. If the participant and the language he or she spoke were known, the child's code choice was obviously facilitated. Examples abound in the children's diaries or unequivocal use of the appropriate code. In situations where speakers of both languages were present, the children switched languages rapidly and naturally as they alternately addressed each person in the proper code, sometimes almost within the same utterance. An example of this was at 3;4 during a visit to a New York apartment where monolingual speakers of Spanish and of English were present. Mario consistently made appropriate language choices with each of the visitors. Examples abound throughout the diary from that age on, often involving fairly complex social situations, yet consistently appropriate language choices.

Analysis of the Social Determinants

An analysis of social variables affecting Mario's choice of code at age 5;0 is partially captured in the chart which follows. Taking the two initial determinants of interlocutor and setting; and only limited subvariables of each; the chart that follows depicts the interrelationship of these pertinent variables and their effects on language choice. The chart is based on actual data reflecting language selections the child made in the presence of each cluster of variables. In a sense, the chart may also be viewed as a predictive scheme capturing the child's expectations governing language use based on combinations of variables (i.e., his social-linguistic competence). The chart does not account for "marked" speech - verbal behavior not considered normal for a situation, such as acts involving surprise, shock, amusement, and the like; nor occasions when the child recounted previous linguistic experiences (such as a song, joke or quotation), generally preserved in the original language. See CHART 1 in the appendices.

This scheme remained substantially unchanged almost till age ten, except for refinements brought about by increasing awareness of other attributes pertinent to both interlocutors and setting. As the children develop - expanding social contacts, changing in their roles, and moving toward adulthood - the interplay between social factors and linguistic expression responds with increasing complexity. Further social changes most certainly will continue to affect future language choices and use.

From the earliest moments, switching behavior was patterned. A clear link developed between social factors and language choice, and continued despite increasing variables, far too complex to capture now in a single chart. Grasping the interrelationship of variables and choice in the relative simplicity of a child's scheme, helps us to understand how social factors and choice are interrelated.

Aside from depicting the patterning of language choice in the speech of a bilingual, the framework depicted was further validated by the fact that the child normally exhibited a demonstrable reaction when the language used in a given situation was other than what he perceived as normal. On such occasions, he usually made explicit comments about his observations or expressed surprise if he considered the language used inappropriate or unanticipated for the circumstances.

Mario adhered so strictly to such a scheme, that he literally behaved as

though he were a guardian of the Spanish language, reminding and sometimes chiding other family members when they spoke English rather than Spanish. He reacted even to the use of single word utterances made in English. For example, one day as his father approached the family waiting on the curb, he rolled down the car window and greeted them with: "Hi!" Mario's immediate retort was: Habla espanol!" (Speak Spanish!) Although said in jest, it demonstrated that any "inappropriate" switch to English no matter how slight seldom escaped the child's attention. On another occasion, while at the breakfast table, Mario (10;1) and his sister (6;0), both noticed their father speaking English to their mother. Both children protested, while Carla added: "No hables en ingles a mama! (Don't speak English to mama!)...Y yo le pego para que hable espanol!" (And I spank him so he speaks Spanish!), was added jokingly.

The tardy emergence of topic as a determinant of code switching behavior is indeed surprising, especially since it is so commonly cited in sociolinguistic reports of the speech of adult bilinguals (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). This is not to say that topic had no other effects upon the child's speech. For example, topic was seen as relevant in analysis of the child's interference and transference. Linguistic borrowings clearly increased or decreased in accordance with specific topics of conversation. To counteract interference, the parents of the children under study attempted to compliment their monolingual education by providing them with Spanish textbooks used in Bolivian schools, given the fact that no bilingual program was available in the area where they resided. Parallel instruction in some subjects undoubtedly helped them to become almost as capable of dealing with mathematics, reading and other content areas in Spanish as in English. But as their education continued exclusively in English, it became increasingly apparent that language development in English would eventually overtake Spanish in numerous topical areas, causing increasing code switching and borrowing by topic.

Some Patterns of Language Use

Thus far the focus has been on the development of bilingual behavior and the effects of social context on language choice. At this point there will be an attampt to capture various patterns of language use, ranging from monolingual speech to bilingual code switching, and various interlanguage possibilities. Letting X1 and X2 stand for two bilingual speakers of the same two languages A and B, Y1 and Y2 represent two monolingual speakers of the same language, B, it will be possible to depict simply some of the most

common patterns of language use:

Language Use Patterns

a. X1→A→X2 (monolingual use/single language input)

Y1→B→Y2

b. X1→AB→X2 (monolingual use/dual language sources)

c. X→A→B→Y (compound bilingual language use)

d. X1→A→X2 (coordinate bilingual language use)

B→Y

e. X1→A~B→X2 (language alternation or code switching)

f. X→A↔B→Y (language interference)

g. X1→A↔B→X2 (language transference/language mixing)

h. X1→A & B→X2 (monolingual use and occasional transfer)

i. X→A(not B)→Y (no common language

A brief explanation will help to interpret this chart. In (a), for example, bilingual X1 is speaking A with bilingual X2, while monolingual Y1 is speaking B with monolingual Y2. In (b), X1 is using a single code, although derived from dual inputs, A and B. Theoretically, this behavior is still monolingual - use of a single code, albeit derived from two sources - in that the speaker demonstrates no capacity to differentiate A from B; hence the individual is monolingual even though observers will recognize that the code spoken is derived from two different languages. In (c), X1 is functioning as a compound bilingual in that the speaker operates primarily through a base language, like A, to be able to communicate in the second language, B. In contrast, example (d) reflects the functioning of a coordinate bilingual who typically operates with speakers of either language directly in each of the languages involved. Example (e) depicts bilingual speakers who share the

same two languages, and switch or alternate codes within the same conversation.

As always, code switching among bilinguals presents the possibility of carrying over elements from one language to the other. These are the patterns depicted in both (f) and (g). Although the patterns appear identical, the critical variant in these cases is the interlocutor. In other words, where the interlocutor shares the same two languages - as in (g) - mixing results in positive transference. Both speakers know the same two systems, hence mixing can even enhance and enrich their communication possibilities. This contrasts with (f), where the second speaker (Y) is monolingual and does not know both A and B languages. Use of both by X obviously results in interference, possibly causing a breakdown in communication. This example probably best typifies a speaker fluent in A, with limited proficiency in a second language, B. While attempting to speak B to Y, X continuously reverts to native tongue A, but to little avail since Y does not know that language. Example (h) exemplifies two speakers, X1 and X2, both of whom share the same two languages, A and B. Their communication in this case proceeds primarily in a base language, A, with only occasional interjections in the second language, B. Finally, example (i) depicts a situation in which two individuals come together with no common tongue.

All of these examples may characterize language use patterns of bilingual speakers, while not all apply in the same way to monolingual individuals. The linguistic and social competences which govern these patterns of language alternation are normal developments in individuals exposed to two or more languages from early childhood, and are rooted in their earliest stages of bilingual development.

Conclusions

Salient factors both present and absent which contributed to the distinctive use of codes by the children under study were: (1) a clear and consistent model of differentiated code use by parents and others; (2) guidance (and usually subtle) insistence on the exclusive use of a single code in most instances; (3) distinct environments, each reserved for a different code; (4) in this case study, at least, the relative isolation of the children as Spanish-speakers in an English-speaking milieu (with no negative social consequences), reinforcing their distinctiveness in a positive way; and (5) intimate association of the home language with the family unit and the children's individual identities. Questions like the following at age 8;1 reveal

the early link between language and identity: "Papa, y por que yo naci hispanohablante?" (Papa, and why was I born a Spanish-speaker?)

It must be underscored that the children cited in this particular study were fortunate not to have experienced prejudice or other incidents reflecting negative social attitudes against use of their home tongue. Unfortunately, this is not always the case for many other children raised with a home language which is different from that of the mainstream culture. Even a single negative incident can sometimes seriously affect the child's disposition against use of the home language in the presence of others, and seriously truncate bilingual development.

Code switching patterns of adult bilinguals are formed over a life time, but this competence often has its origins in infancy. Hence, code switching, as with other aspects of language acquisition, must be viewed developmentally by tracking its earliest appearances in child speech. Significant stages in language recognition, differentiation and bilingual development (based on Mario's diary) are summarized in chart 2 as an example of this process, although details will obviously vary from speaker to speaker:

Chart 2
Stages in language recognition, differentiation and bilingual development

Age	Event	Observation
0;11	Recognition (Spanish)	First Signs of recognition of some words.
1;4	First words (Spanish)	First active use of a few words
1;8	Sound reproduction (Spanish)	Recognition of Spanish sounds with attempts to reproduce them.
1;10	Differentiation (Spanish)	Differentiation of Spanish from English and other languages present in the environment.
2;6	First words (English)	First active use of a few words.
2;7	Mixing	Considerable mixing of both languages.
2;8	Separation	Separation of the two systems in speech; comments on the English behaviour of others.

3;0	Two systems	Clear and consistent separation Spanish and English, bilingual behaviour.
3;4	Recognition (Italian)	Recognition of Italian, the third "distinct" code.
3;4	Other forms	Demonstrates curiosity and interest in other forms of language (channels) such as reading, writing, spelling.
3;4 3;8	Code/Context	Demonstrates established expectations concerning the use of Spanish and English in specific contexts.
3;6	Other Codes	Shows curiosity in other languages and language play (Pig Spanish); imitates the "sound" of unfamiliar languages.
3;6	Spanish Label	First spontaneous use of the label "Spanish" to identify his own language
3;7	Awareness of other languages	Recognizes people speak other languages beyond Spanish and English; occasionally tries to imitate, rendering acoustic impressions.
3;8	First words (Italian)	First active use of an Italian phrase in appropriate context.
3;9	English label	First use of a label to describe the English language.
4;1	Metalanguage	First use of metalanguage to explore and expand his linguistic knowledge (asks for translations, Spanish-English).
4;2	Observes bilingualism	Comments on bilngual behaviour; shows interest in the languages people speak.
4;2	Acknowledges own bilingualism	Comments on his own bilingualism ("Yo hablo dos"/I speak two).
4;3	Curiosity in others' languages himself.	Asks what language others speak when he can not deduce this for
4;6	Use of labels	Fairly consistent use of labels

		to refer to Spanish and English.
4;9	Receptive use of Italian	Italian used as the language for storytelling; child demonstrates comprehension.
5;5	Comments on own multilingualism	Child comments on his own multi-lingualism-the knowledge of 3 languages-for the first time.
5;8	Linguistic analysis	Asks questions about specific aspects and use of linguistic forms.
5;8	Recognizes "foreign accents"	Aware of "foreign accents" and identify when speaker is non-native of Spanish or English.
6;0	Semantic insights	Aware of non-equivalency of words accross languages and multiple meanings of some words.
6;0	Intensified interest in other languages	Interest in other forms of communication intensified, and persists (Italian, 6;0; Japanese, 6;7; German, 7;9; Twi and Greek,9;6; Aymara and Quechua, 10;8).
7;3	Identifies source of "foreign accents"	Aside from his awareness of accents foreign to Spanish and English, the child can identify when the accent in English is attributable to a Spanish-speaker, and vice-versa.
7;5	Judges proficiency of non-native speakers	Judges and comments on the relative proficiency level of non-native speakers of English or Spanish
7;6	Curiosity in monolinguals	Shows curiosity in monolinguals and their perceptions of bilinguals.
7;11	Recognizes regional accents in English	Sensitive to regional language variations of English-speakers.
8;1	Recognizes regional accents in Spanish	Sensitive to regional language variations of Spanish-speakers.
8;2	Linguistic judgements sharpened	Increasingly capable of making judgements about the proficiency of non-native speakers (both

		English and Spanish).
9;0	Distinguishes some Spanish dialects	Develops ability not only to recognize language variations of Spanish-speakers, but also notes their specific characteristics.
9;1	Language intuition	Shows ability to make guesses as to origins of foreign words used in English.
10;6	Acquires Bolivian regionalisms	Incorporates Bolivian regionlisms into his own Spanish speech.

In summary, code-switching (in Mario's case) - the beginning of bilingual behavior - was evidenced as early as 2;6 despite a delayed onset of English. By 2;8 it was fairly well established and well executed. By the end of the third year, he demonstrated the ability to make appropriate language choices, switching rapidly and naturally from one language to the other. At five, he behaved like a normal monolingual child (as perceived by others) - in either of two languages - with the appropriate people, and in the right time and place. At 6;3 an amusing incident revealing his keen sensitivity to appropriate language use was noted.

> Unassisted, the child is writing a letter in Spanish to his grandparents in Bolivia. At one point he hesitates and asks:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | MARIO (to Papa): | A Bolivia se va en avion? (Will it go to Bolivia by plane?) |
> | PAPA: | Si, por que? (Yes, why?) |
> | MARIO: | Nada. (Nothing) |
>
> He then selects an airmail stamp to place on the envelope. When Papa notices the child sounding out English phonetically and writing "B-O-L-I-F-Y-A" on the envelope. He asks:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | PAPA: | Pero por que escribes en ingles? (But why are you writing in English?) |
> | MARIO: | Si, ipero el cartero no sabe espanol! (Yes, but the mailman doesn't know Spanish!) |

By ten, both Mario and Carla displayed sophisticated code switching behavior responsive to a great variety of social factors of increasing importance to the children in accordance with their perspectives. The

linguistic and social competence begun in childhood had already developed into the complex patterned behavior characteristic of bilingual speakers.

Implications

Bilingual behavior is patterned behavior, like language itself. Although the social factors relevant to each speaker may vary from case to case, the bilingual child learns early on to discern those factors which are significant for each context, which in turn guide the individual in the language selection. And although bilinguals switch or alternate codes, even mix, they also know in which instances to make separate linguistic choices, no matter how limited their proficiency may be in a second language.

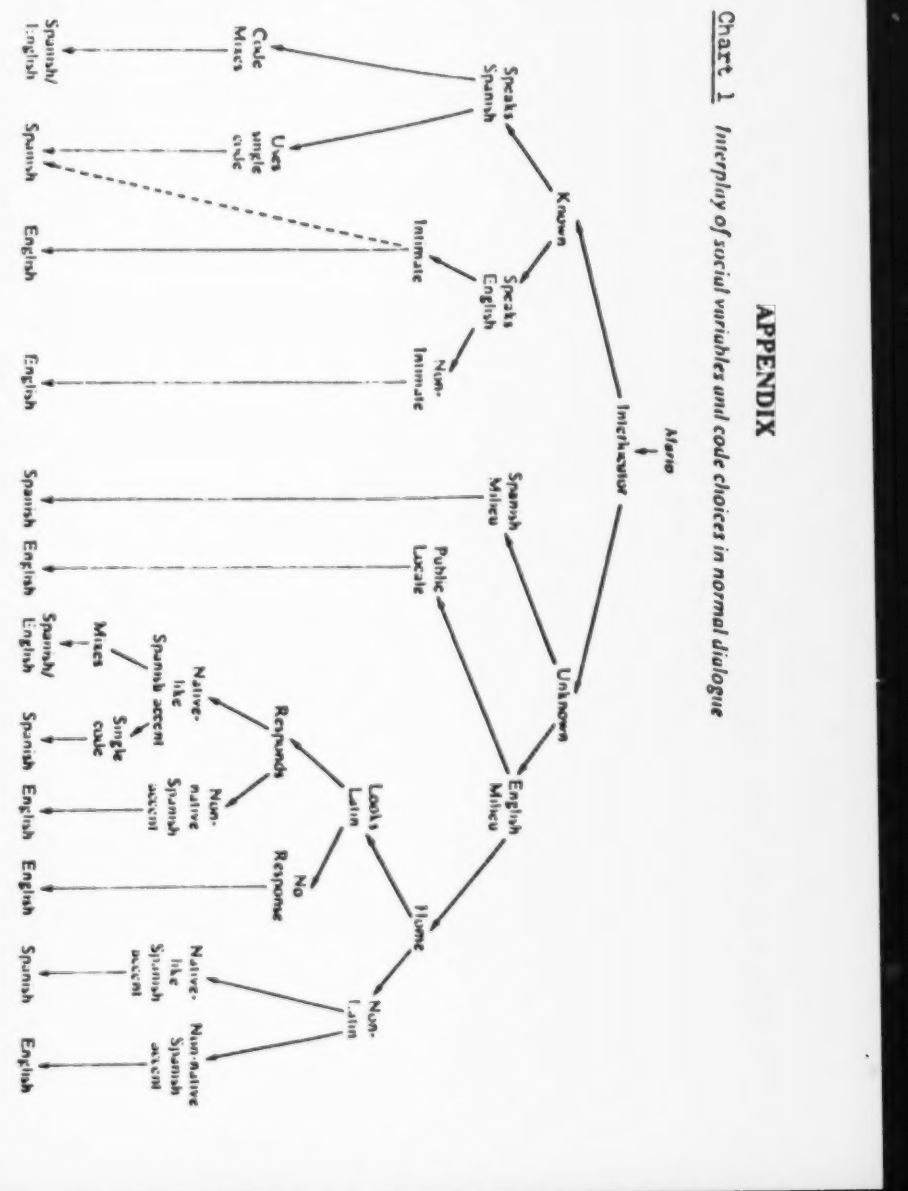
Families play a critical role in developing the patterns of early bilingual behavior and for insuring their continuation, especially as the mainstream language becomes more dominant in the child's life. And although each family displays different preferences for language use and the tolerable degrees of language separation or mixing, it nonetheless seems clear that separate language use - to some degree, in some ways, and in specific moments and contexts - aids language differentiation and bilingual development. Continuous mixing, on the other hand, may foment passive bilingualism (where the child understands both languages, but chooses to speak only one of the languages, normally that of wider communication, to the point where fluency may be impaired), or else produce an interlingual stage where the child experiences difficulty maintaining conversation in either tongue. In the latter case, the individual may lag behind monolingual peers in both languages (attested by many teachers who despair with such children, dubbing them "alingual").

Obviously there are no rigid formulas for bilingual development, but evidence seems to favor maintaining language distinctiveness to some extent. Clearly this tentative principle hardly prohibits or forbids using both languages as useful or necessary. These insights have special implications for bilingual education, for curricular and scheduling decisions, as well as for patterns of language use in the classroom. These principles also have implications for parents wishing to raise their children bilingually, whether or not there is school support for the home language. With or without bilingual education (but preferably with), parents can raise their children successfully as bilinguals, but it helps if they themselves are clear about their own values and preferences, developing models which best support their children through the developmental process. Although

language use patterns are established in the early years, they continue to be sensitive and responsive to changing social contexts. It is precisely for these reasons, that clarity about the interrelationship of language choice and social context can help bilingualism to prevail into adulthood.

APPENDIX

Chart 1 *Interplay of social variables and code choices in normal dialogue*



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